SIDON, QEDEM AND THE LAND OF IAY

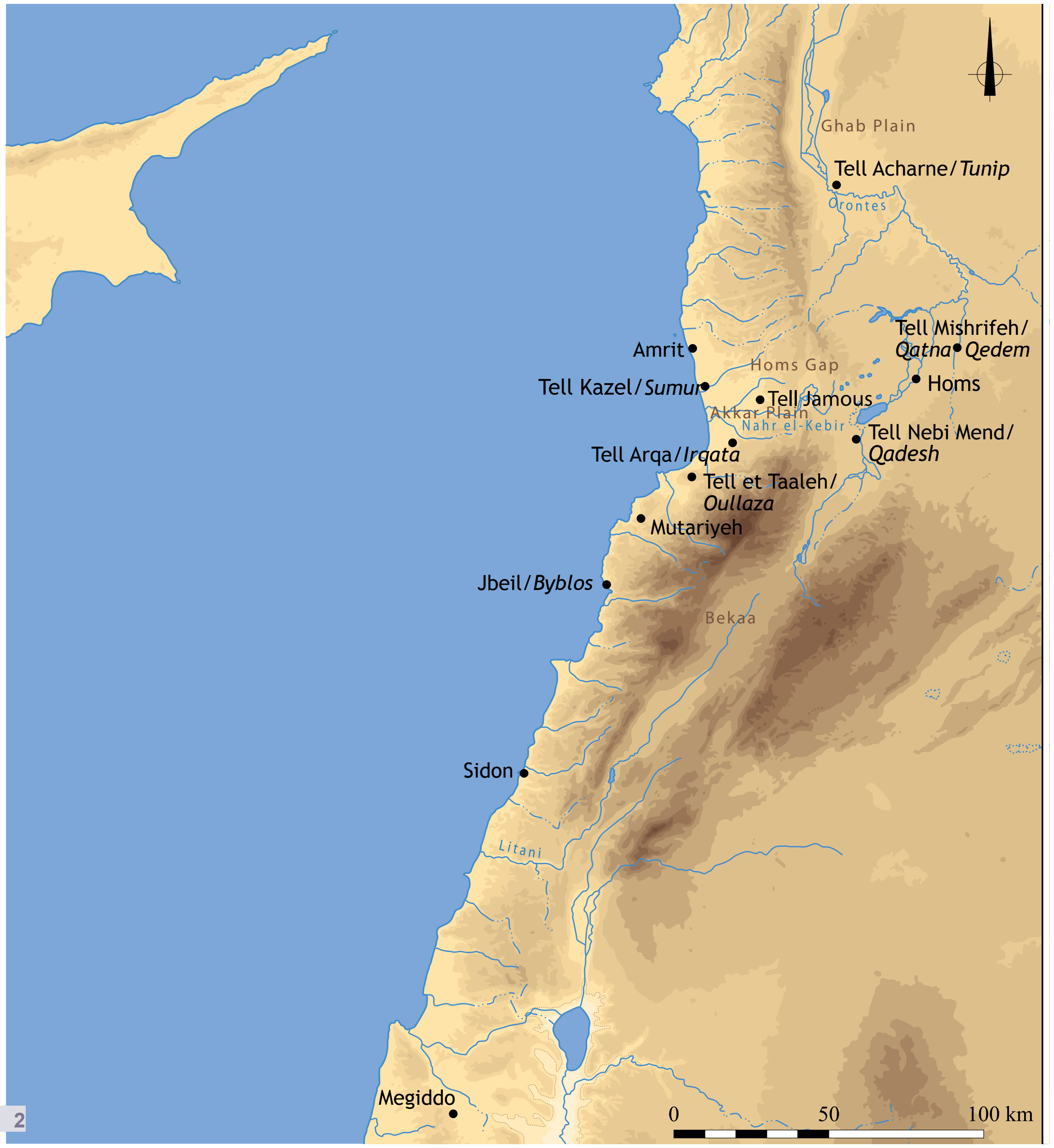
ARCHAEOLOGY & HISTORY IN THE LEBANON ISSUE THIRTY FOUR-THIRTY FIVE: WINTER/SPRING 2011/12. PP. 79-92.

ERIC GUBEL
HENRI LOFFET

The seal inscribed with the name of *Ḏd-kꜣ-rʿ*, "Beloved of Seth (Ba'al), Lord of the Land of '*Iꜣy*' (fig. 1), found in a Middle Bronze II B context in the course of the 2004 season of excavations at Sidon, confirms the existence in the Levant outside Byblos of a scribal tradition using Egyptian hieroglyphs [1]. The fact that it takes the form of a scaraboid, together with the form of the hieroglyphs themselves – somewhat hesitant when compared to pharaonic documents of the same period – in effect corroborates a Levantine rather than an Egyptian origin. Although the inscription on this seal has already been subject to a rereading of the name *Ḏd-kꜣ-rʿ* – yet to be published [2] – the authors, for their part, now reconsider the toponym, which several parallels agree in situating to the north of Sidon, and not in the Bekaa valley to its east [3].



1 The Sidon scaraboid S/3487. Drawing M. Quercig.



2 Map of sites mentioned in the article with modern and acient names (italics). Map by Ramy Yassine.

I. The Land of Iaa/Iaat/Iay in Egyptian Documentation

I.1. Sinuhe.

First of all, it should be recalled that a land whose name is nearly homonymous – 'Iaa (*iꜣꜣ*) – and which appears in the Tale of Sinuhe, has been considered to be an authentic toponym by several authors. It is also found in the execration texts (cf. below) as well as later, in the topographical list of Thutmose III, which situates it between *Mkti* ('Amki or Megiddo) and Qedem [4]. In the Tale of Sinuhe, written at the beginning of the XII[th] Dynasty (1900-1850 BC), the exile leaves Byblos for Qedem (B 29 of Papyrus Berlin 3022), a toponym which specialists have tried in vain to locate in various places to the east, and even relatively far to the south-west of Byblos. This land of 'Iaa, in the district of Upper Retenu (cf. below), was located by Görg to the north of the Litani (*rṯnw* in its earliest written form) which would have marked the frontier between the northern and the southern parts of Retenu [5]. Green, for his part, remarked: "It is clear from the context of Sinuhe that Upper Retenu, while excluded from his list of the 'wood cutters', must nevertheless be located in the same area. Thus the circumstantial evidence alone strongly points towards an identification of Upper Retenu with the broad and fertile plain of Homs in which the city of Kadesh was located"[6]. Thomas Schneider  has recently corrected the reading of Qedem to Qatanum – the exact transliteration of *q-d-nw-m* (B 29) – that is to say, the present Tell Mischrife, 18 km to the north-east of Homs [7]. If the writers of the narrative were well and truly familiar with the realities of the topography and linguistics of the region – and the identification of Semitic, Luvian and Hurrian terms in Sinuhe B 219-222 by the same authors only reinforces this point of view – it follows that Sinuhe must necessarily have traversed the Akkar Plain (via Ullasa and Arqa) in order to follow the Nahr el Kebir towards the Homs Gap via Qadesh (fig. 2). Unless, of course, he had travelled as far as Sumur by ship and then continued overland via the Mechta road, a route later taken by Thutmose III in the opposite direction [8]. During a six months' stay in Qatna (B29) – a city state that would quickly familiarize itself with Egyptian culture, as recent finds have demonstrated in a particularly spectacular fashion [9] – a *malku* (king) called Amunenshi (the Semitic translation of the Egyptian "Amun is my father"), took Sinuhe to his home – or, more specifically, to his kingdom in Upper Retenu (*rtnw hrt*), which is generally accepted as being in the coastal area north of the Litani (*see* below) [10]. "You will be happy in my home", king Amunenshi assures his future son-in-law, "because [in my kingdom] you will hear the speech of Egypt" (B 31.32). One might be inclined to doubt the hypothesis according to which Amunenshi was king of Qatna – or indeed of Qadesh as has been suggested – acquaintance with the hinterland of Retenu having been very limited in Egypt at that time [11]. As Sinuhe, in following Amunenshi, apparently turns back and retraces his steps in a south-westerly direction – without, however, descending into the coastal region as far as Byblos, which is no longer mentioned in this story – the authors prefer to locate the siege of the clan of Amunenshi in the Akkar Plain. It would have been in this region that Sinuhe was given the older daughter of Amunenshi with, as a dowry, the happy, paradisiacal land of 'Iaa (*see* below a propos orthography) on the frontier of Retenu with another country which Sinuhe protected from then on in his position as *hqꜣ* against the enemies of his father-in-law (B 78-81) [12]. The very name of 'Iaa, which could mean "land of reeds"[13] or indeed "rich in vegetation" describes the Akkar perfectly, a region of abundant rivers whose banks are still today densely covered with reeds of all kinds, set in a landscape abounding in vegetation. Figs, vines and honey are always abundant; as for olive oil, in Lebanon 45 per cent of the land under olive groves is in the north of the country. Sinuhe also informs us that milk and cattle were a basic resource – aside, no doubt, from pisciculture, and the hunt in the shade of the pines of Aleppo, the firs of Cilicia and, in forests high in the mountains, the cedars whose numbers are unfortunately decreasing in our time.

I.2. Amenemhat II.

The maritime expedition mentioned in the Memphite text of year 3 of the reign of Amenemhat II – and of which the Tod treasure could well represent part of the booty brought back to Egypt – records the Egyptian troops disembarking in Lebanon (*Ḫnt-š*), probably at Byblos, whence a military expedition (*mnfꜣt)* was sent into a country called *'Iwꜣ* [14] in *Sṯt*, "Asia/Syria", then situated in *<R>ṯnw* [15]. Another column includes the toponym *'Iwꜣi* associated with another country, *'Iꜣsii*, whose fortifications were also destroyed [16]. If there are not too many objections, taking into account the notorious fluctuations in the script of the Middle Kingdom, in considering *'Iwꜣi* as a variant of *Iwꜣ*– and of its predecessor the Land of 'Iaa in the Tale of Sinuhe, one might put forward the suggestion that *'Iꜣsii* is effectively not Alashya/Cyprus as several scholars have thought, but rather a scribal error for an important centre in the Land of 'Iaa, namely *iwꜣsi, 'Iwꜣṯi*, the Ullasa of the execration texts (the present Tell et Taalé: fig. 2) [17]. As E. S. Marcus has convincingly demonstrated, it is indeed not until the reign of Senusret III that one can postulate the existence of relations between Egypt and Cyprus [18], whereas the reading *'Iꜣsii* = *'Iwꜣṯ* (Ullasa) would explain another toponym in the inscription, that is *Ṯmꜣ.t* (Tunip?) whose garrison protected Ullasa at the time of Thutmose III [19]. One should remember that Ullasa, aside from distributing logs of cedar, also assured the further diffusion of products conveyed via the interior of Syria, including lapis lazuli, cylinder and stamp seals as well as silver from Anatolia and the Aegean [20]. And lastly, the silver cups from the Tod treasure have recently been compared to the pottery of Tell 'Arqa, only thirteen km from Ullasa in the Lebanese Akkar (fig. 2) [21].

I.3. Senusret II – Amenemhat III.

The inscription on the mastaba of Khnumhotep (son of the nomarch of the same name) at Dahshur, examined by J. P. Allen in his preliminary report, provides more information on Ullasa, corroborating the opinion of the authors that Ullasa was at this time considered to be the urban centre par excellence of the Akkar (thus of the Land of ʻIaa(y)) [22]. Having served under Senusret II and Amenemhat III from 1887 to 1850 BC, Khnumhotep reports on a naval expedition sent to obtain cedar from the port of Ullasa. However, the *malku*, the king (cf. the *malku* Amunenshi) of Byblos barely concealed his aversion to this project, although he sent servants versed in Egyptian if not interpreters on a ship bound for Ullasa to talk to the Egyptian speakers in the service of its governor [23]. A possible interpretation of the continuation of this account might be that the *malku* of Byblos even tried, by the expedient of sending a contingent of soldiers under the orders of his son to attack the Ullasians. Through an exchange of letters (in Egyptian), the governor of Ullasa thanks Senusret III for his help. Allen is no doubt right to postulate that the punitive expedition against Byblos would explain the change of regime, the city thenceforward being governed by (a dynasty) of *hꜣtj-ʻ* [24]. If the name of the Land of ʻIay is not (yet?) found in the fragments that have thus far been restored, the Khnumhotep text meanwhile emphasizes the existence of a tradition of Egyptian being spoken to the north of Byblos in the Akkar – accompanied by the export via Ullasa to Egypt of cedar logs, and no doubt other products – as indicated by the pottery of Tell ʻArqa attested at Tell el-Dab'a in the Nile delta as early as Middle Bronze II A [25].

I.4. Execration Texts.

Several of the execration texts mention Ullasa, as do the Berlin ostraca and the apotropaic figurines in Brussels, at present attributed to Middle Bronze II A (in terms of Egyptian chronology equivalent to the second half of the XIII[th] Dynasty into XII[th]). The Land of ʻIaa is also attested (see p. 86 and notes 62-66) for the different forms of orthography), but only in the slightly more recent Brussels group with the name of its prince *ꜣwꜣhddi* (Lawi-la-Haddu) [26]. Note that the critical revision of the historical interest of the execration texts for the populating of Palestine, recently provided by Amnon Ben-Tor, adds an important point regarding the texts [27]. Contrasting the paucity of the vestiges of MB II A in six of the ten excavated sites identified in these texts [28], the author wonders whether the scriptural evidence of the Berlin and the Brussels groups may not more accurately describe the reality of an earlier phase, reviewed by means of sympathetic magic.

The continuing existence of the Land of ʻIaay towards the end of the Middle Kingdom is confirmed by the inscription on the scaraboid seal from Sidon (fig. 1) naming another ruler of this region. Against the suggested identification with the Bekaa valley, it now seems preferable, given the data set out above, to opt for the Akkar Plain, controlled from the maritime city of Ullasa, the only centre north of Byblos where the Egyptian language was in use, as attested by both the Egyptian documentation of the Middle Kingdom (Sinuhe B. 31. 32 and Khnumhotep) and the local evidence of the Middle Bronze II B seal (fig. 1). Lastly, if the semantics of the toponym and the description by Sinuhe of the Land of ʻIaa accord well with the part of the Akkar that lies between the Nahr el Bared in the south and the marshy area by the Nahr el Kebir in the north, the archaeological evidence from this region also supports the argument in favour of that location. The excavations of Jean-Paul Thalmann at Tell ʻArqa have indeed led the excavator to an in-depth study of this region through the successive phases of the Bronze Age. "It is only in phase P at Arqa, i. e. around 2400 BC, that most of the sites are fully developed and that the hierarchy of the installations indicates the development of small regional centres with urban characteristics. From this period on, the plain is organized into three units or small districts…and centred on the three principal sites [designated ʻde Rang 1'] of Kazel, Jamus and Arqa" (fig. 2) [29]. One of the warrior burials was discovered in level N (Middle Bronze I) at Arqa, and the excavator notes the relation to the graves of Amrit in the Syrian part of the Akkar [30]. One may thus conclude that, from the archaeological point of view as well, the Akkar Plain provides a terrain compatible with the military conflicts described in the literature and the annals of Egypt at the beginning of the second millennium BC [31].

II. Localisation of the land of ʻIaa/'Iay with respect to Upper Retenu and Qedem

One thing is certain and accepted: at the beginning of the XII[th] Egyptian Dynasty 'Iaa/'Iay/'Iaat was formally located in Upper (or Eastern) Retenu, according to the text of Sinuhe (B 81), and this "excellent land whose name is 'Iaa/'Iaat'Iay" [32] was thus under the control of the city state of Qedem.

The aim of the second part of this paper is to locate as precisely as possible the geographic boundaries of Eastern Retenu and to place the city state of Qedem on a map.

Known to the Egyptians of the Middle Kingdom – considering that Sinuhe arrived there after having passed "from one country to another country" (B 29-30) – this city, Qedem, and its territory – whose prince was familiar with the Egyptian language (B 31-32) – was nonetheless unaffected by the political influence of, and military conquest by, the pharaohs of the beginning of the XII[th] Dynasty: Amenemhat I and Senusret I [33].



It is now generally agreed that Upper Retenu [34]: Rṯnw-Ḥrt, the true boundaries of whose frontier regions with its neighbouring states are still under discussion, is located by the upper waters of the Litani and

to its east, thus in the region that includes all of northern Lebanon and the centre of present day Syria, very probably including the Lebano-Syrian Mediterranean coastal plain, the Homs Gap and its immediate environs [35] as well as the Lebano-Syrian Akkar Plain [36]. From that time on, its north-eastern reaches were, however, gradually lost to the expanding kingdom of Naharina/Mitanni.

The only remaining problem of location and identification is thus posed by Qedem. The Story of Sinuhe assures us that this city was within the territory of Upper/Eastern Retenu and that it was the capital (B30-31). But where should it be placed on a map? One source could be useful, although it is difficult to interpret, and despite the fact that it is dated to the beginning of the New Kingdom. There is indeed a text, admittedly incomplete and dated most probably to the reign of Thutmose I, where Qedem is mentioned as being in the vicinity of Tunip [37]. Tunip [38] is now identified – with a reasonable degree of certitude – with the archaeological site of Tell Acharne (see fig. 2) as a result of petrographic analyses of clay from the pottery found *in situ* and certain Amarna clay tablets [39]. This significant 70-hectare site is at the centre of the southern part of the very fertile Syrian Ghab Plain, in the middle of the Orontes Valley (fig. 2) [40].

One should consequently look for 'laa/'lay/'laat in the area that lies to the southwest of that region most bountiful in terms of agriculture and



animal husbandry [41], the Syrian Ghab, and to the west of the then most important city state of the region, now better known as Qatna/Mishrifeh, 27 km to the south-east of Hamath [42]. Qatna appears under the following Egyptian spellings

Ḳdnꜣ [43] / *Ḳꜣdꜣn* [44] / *Ḳdnꜣ* [45] / *Ḳdnꜣ* [46]

in texts from the beginning of the New Kingdom: under the reign of Amenhotep II from the time of his seventh campaign into Asia (Urk, IV, 1311, 5) [47], subsequently under that of Thutmose III (for example Urk. IV, 696, 17) [48].

Since Qatna appears in Egyptian texts of the beginning of the XVIIIth dynasty, it is somewhat surprising that Qedem is not to be found there except in stereotyped topographical lists which add no precision at all as to its geographical situation. Could not *Ḳdnꜣ* / *Ḳꜣdꜣn* be the new Egyptian toponym for Qedem, derived from the XIIth Dynasty. On the orthographical level, it would seem that there is nothing against this. Ancient Near Eastern scholars and Egyptologists are accustomed to spelling variations in the transcription of toponyms (and, moreover, of anthroponyms) from ancient Semitic languages into Egyptian hieroglyphics.



As early as the Berlin version of the various texts of the Story of Sinuhe,

and only there, the following variations in the spelling of the toponym Qedem are encountered:

Ḳd... [49] / ... [50]



The same process is thus at work in the case of Qedem and that of Qatna: the variation in Egyptian spelling is evident.

In , for example, the fact that the orthographies borrow the and not the which would later be substituted for it (indeed at the Temple of Amenhotep III at Soleb and that at Luxor under Rameses II) should not be found in the least surprising; the alternation of and : *ḳd* is very well known in the diachrony of the Egyptian language during the pharaonic period [51].

The same holds true for the shift of the labial alveolar (consonant) from d to t, a current linguistic phenomenon that is encountered very early in Egyptian [52].

As to the final *ꜣ* of the toponym *Ḳdn* (*ꜣ*), in this position it only began to supplant a weak vowel at the time of the New Kingdom. In effect, whereas in the Middle Kingdom – in the transliteration of toponyms or anthroponyms, and even in that of loan words current in Semitic languages – the *ꜣ* in Egyptian script supplants the Semitic lamed ( ) or the resh [53] ( ), this is not the case in the Egyptian texts of the New Kingdom. Nor does it occur in those from the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty, when, in West Semitic languages the "*l*" (lamed) or the "*r*" (resh) were shown by the group: , which we do not have here [54].

However, the "*m*" in Qedem is problematic. This consonant is relatively stable in all languages [55]. In some Egyptian texts, however, signs appear which should manifestly be regarded as corruptions of "*m*" into "*n / nꜣ*". It seems that this graphic phenomenon would have occurred in the transcription of Semitic words into Egyptian, but in this case the "*n*" would have turned into "*m*", as: *'Idrn* [56] / *Idrm* [57] or again: the succession of *ḏrˁm* (= hornet / wasp), or, according to Gardiner, this ending in "*m*" would have been a corruption of "*n / nꜣ*" [58]. More probably, and rather than here recognizing a graphic corruption of "*m*" [59] the author is of the opinion that one is in this case dealing with a phonetic linguistic process characteristic of all ancient Semitic languages known as "mimation" [60]. It is very probable that we are in this case confronted with a toponym with an archaizing spelling and with "*m*" as a desinence. Again, this phenomenon is very well attested in the writing of toponyms and certain Egyptian words of Semitic origin [61].



...gdom can also be accepted as the new spelling of the *Ḳdm* of the Middle Kingdom: linguistically, nothing would appear to contradict this argument a priori.

At this stage, there are two possibilities for the geographic location of:

i͗ꜣꜣt[62] / *i͗ꜣꜣ*[63] / *i͗ꜣꜣ*[64] / *i͗ꜣy*[65] / *i͗ꜣy*[66]

1) Either one places this city to the south of Tunip and thus to the south of the Ghab Plain as well as to the east of the Orontes, in Syria, relying on the recent clay analyses [67].

2) Or one locates it in the west, in the Akkar Plain in northern Lebanon which, as one travels from Qatna through the Homs Gap towards that abundantly fertile Lebanese plain, becomes perfectly conceivable, and geographically tenable as well [68].

The linguistic analysis of this toponym, now formally attested by the scarab recently unearthed in the course of excavations at Sidon, can accommodate only one qualified possibility in the period under consideration: the Egyptian Middle Kingdom, the XIIth Dynasty to be precise.

The *ꜣ* within the notation of the word of this toponym can only, in Egyptian hieroglyphs, be the transcription of the Semitic letters *lamed* or *resh*, as mentioned above. Consequently, ʻIaa/ʼIay can only recover the following Semitic words: øll, ørr, ølr, ørl [69].

As for the final "y" of the two last entries of "Iaa/ʼIay cited above, we know that it frequently appears in the topographical lists of the Middle Kingdom and that it disappears almost completely from the texts of the Egyptian New Kingdom at a time when the transcription of toponyms of Semitic origin reaches a peak [70].

The scarab seal of ***D**d-kꜣ-r*ʻ, unearthed during the 2004 season of excavations at Sidon, favours the second hypothesis above in terms of its geography, its history and its environment, reinforced by the proximity of the Land of Iaa to the coastal city of Sidon and to the Akkar Plain, a few days march along the coast from Sidon and even less if sailing along the coast. The authors therefore now endorse this last hypothesis, *a fortiori* since recent studies on this subject are pointing in the same direction [71].

ABBREVIATIONS

Wien.

BAAL = *Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises*, Beyrouth.

BASOR = *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research in Jerusalem and Baghdad*, Michigan, New Haven.

BdE = *Bibliothèque d'Etude, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire*, Le Caire.

BSFE = *Bulletin de la Société Française d'Egyptologie*, Paris/Louvain.

CdE = *Chronique d'Égypte*, Bruxelles.

Faulkner, C.D.M.E. = *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, Oxford.

Gardiner, A.E.O. = *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, London.

GM = *Göttinger Miszellen*, Göttingen.

IFAO = *Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* (du Caire).

JEA = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, London.

LdÄ= *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Wiesbaden 1975.

PM. = Bertha Porter & Rosalind L. B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient* Egyptian., T. I-VIII, Oxford.

RdE = *Revue d'Egyptologie*, Paris/Louvain.

Urk. I-IV = *Urkunden des Alten/Neuen Reichs*, Leipzig.

NOTES

1 H. Loffet, 2006, "The Sidon Scaraboid S/3487", p. 78-84 for the editio princeps.

2 For more details, see H. Loffet, in preparation. The first part of the present article was written by E. Gubel, the second by H. Loffet.

3 The identification of the Land of ʻIaay with the Bekaa valley is based on the numbering of G. Posener, 1940, p. 76 where the apotropaic figurine bearing the toponym ʻIaay, n° E 21, is preceded by figurine E 20 referring to a place in the Bekaa. This has led S. Ahituv, 1984, p. 65, into error in presupposing a logical order in the numbering of the figurines of the Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels, which is not at all the case.

4 G. Posener, 1940, p. 76; M. Görg, 1987, p. 144 (and p. 145-6 for the critique on the reading of i͗ꜣꜣ = Araru, R. B. Parkinson, 2009, p. 179-80, n° 12.

5 M. Görg, 1987, p. 142-153.

6 M. Green, 1983, p. 38-59, also, on p. 54: "Such an identification suits very well the description supplied by Sinuhe of the part of Upper Retenu called ʻIaa, a land of milk and honey where everything grew, where cattle could pasture and which was close to good hunting areas (the Bekaa and/or the uplands north of the plain of Homs)".

7 T. Schneider, 2002, p. 257-272, *see* below, p. 84-86 for confirmation via another linguistic approach.

8 For this route and, for the continuation of this route to Qadesh, the map in LdÄ *s.v.*

9 *Schätze des Alten Syrien: Die Entdeckung des Königreichs Qatna*, 2009 for an abundantly illustrated and annotated overview.

10 M. Green, 1983.

11 Thus M. Green, 1983, p. 43 n° 1.

12 A. F. Rainey, 2006, p. 286 et seq.

13 R. B. Parkinson, 1997, p. 46 n. 25: "It is a paradise (cf. the island in the Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor…), whose name may mean 'Rushy place' "; Cf. M. Görg, 1987, p. 152-3: "Sollte daher die Zufügung des Pflanzen-determinativs in den Belege Sin B 81.238 doch eine etymologische Legitimation gehabt haben? Jꜣꜣ – auch schon in der Namengebung ein ausgesprochenes 'Kulturland'?

14 E. S. Marcus, 2007, for a brilliant analysis of this text, *ibid.*, p. 138 for the references to the Tod treasure, and cf. below, n. 20.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 139, 11: M 8 and 142: M 23.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 140, 22: M 16 and, for the identities of *'Iwꜣi* and *'Iwꜣ*, *ibid.*, p. 144, n° 14.

17 J. F. Quack, 1996, p. 78-81 for an opinion that favours Cyprus.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 146-148.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 144 on the text of Thutmose: D. B. Redford, 2003, p. 71-72.

20 E. S. Marcus, 2007, bibliographic references on p. 159; E. Porada, 1982 for the glyptics.

21 G. Pierrat-Bonnefois, 2008, p. 66.

22 J. P. Allen, 2008, p. 29-39, 2009, p. 13-31.

23 J. P. Allen, 2008, p. 34-35,

2009, p. 22.

24 J. P. Allen, 2008, p. 37, 2009, n° 21, p. 30.

25 K. Kopetsky, 2007-2008, p. 17-58.

26 G. Posener, 1940, p. 76, E 21; A. F. Rainey, 2006, p. 286, n. 12.

27 A. Ben-Tor, 2006, p. 63-87.

28 Jerusalem (f 18, E 45), Sechem (E 6), Rehov (f 8?), Pehel (E 8), Hazor (E 15), Achsaph (E 11), respectively, and, on the other hand, Ashkelon (f 15, E 2), Aphek (E 9), Acco (E 49), and Lachish (E 59); cf. A. Ben-Tor 2006, Table 1, 3 – "f" represents the numbering of the Berlin texts (Sethe, 1926), "E" that of the Brussels texts (G. Posener, 1940). Note that, apart from Laish, all the sites in the latter group are on, or near, the coast.

29 J.-P. Thalmann, 2006, p. 213, 215 and fig. 86. Note that Ullasa/Tell et Taalé is not taken into consideration, as no (legal) excavations have been conducted on this mound.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 34-36, 44-45; for the warrior graves at Sidon, cf. C. Doumet-Serhal, 2003, p. 38-55 and 2004, p. 21-29.

31 On the era of the warriors (*nhtw* in Egyptian) cf. A. F. Rainey, 2006, p. 277-299, n° 12.

32 For the notion of a paradise on earth in Egyptian texts, *see* Urk. I, 103, 7-16 (Ouni); Sinuhe, B 81-92; *see* also: Numbers 13, 17-29; H. Loffet, 1987, p. 121 et. seq.; P. Le Guilloux, 2005, p. 15, 42-43; R. B. Parkinson, 2010, p. 16, fig. 6.

33 P. Tallet, 2005; in this work the author undertakes a comprehensive report on the question of politico-commercial relations between Egypt and the Near East at the beginning of this dynasty.

34 The first mention known at present is thus here, in the Sinuhe text. Both Retenus appear in Egyptian texts from the Middle Kingdom to the reign of Rameses III, after which they disappear completely from the literature of Egypt. C. Vandersleyen, 1995, p. 301.

35 H. Gauthier, 1926, p. 141; *id.*, *op. cit.*, 1928, p. 229; A. H. Gardiner, 1947, p. 154; W. Helck, 1971, *see* index p. 596; M. Green, 1983, p. 54-58; M. Gabolde, 2003, p. 1861; T. Bardinet, 2008, p. 121 and nn. Its eastern frontier, the Euphrates, is contested by C. Vandersleyen, *op. cit.*, p. 59-60, 260 and n° 1.

36 E. Gubel, "Ibirta et le 'Nahl El Bared': Notes de Toponymie Historique Akkariote I", in *Syria,* 86, 2009, p. 221-232.

37 C. Vandersleyen, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

38 And what if this city state covered the same area as the Tunip of the Annals of Thutmose III and that of the campaigns of Rameses II?

39 Y. Goren, I. Finkelstein and N. Na'aman, 2004, p. 115-121; M. Fortin, 2006, p. 212-221; H. Loffet, 2009, p. 205 and n. 160.

40 M. Fortin, 2007, p. 19-41 and fig. 2.

41 Was this not the area where the Seulicids had their stud farms?

42 B. Porter & R. L. B. Moss VII, 1951, p. 392.

43 Urk. IV, 696, 17.

44 Urk. IV, 1311, 5. Here, the anteposition of *ꜣ* to *n* should be regarded as a graphic metathesis; unless it represents an unintentional corruption by the scribe when transcribing a hieratic text into hieroglyphics?

45 Temple of Amenhoep III, Soleb, room C, engaged column. B. Porter & R. L. B. Moss. VII, p, 171 (23); R. Giveon, 1971, p. 24-25 (B, 1) and n° 1-4.

46 Temple of Rameses II, Luxor.

47 Karnak, Stele.

48 In the "Annals".

49 In B 29.

50 In B 182 and 219. Here, in this form, the ʾ may be understood as a phonic vowel that by convention explained, for the Egyptian of this period, the vocalisation of this word in this Semitic language. These vocalic signs are designated in linguistics as "*matres lectionis*".

51 For the alternation of these graphemes, the case in point is the verb:

 = *ḳd*: to build, to construct, to erect. Wb. V, 72, 8 et seq. R. O. Faulkner, p. 282. Y. Bommamy and A. Sadek, 2010, p. 667. One could add the verb:  = *ḳdf*: to gather, to pick; A. H. Gardiner, 1909, p. 96-97, *JEA,* 66, p. 168.

52 W. Vycichl, 1984, p. 89, 90, 207.

53 A. Erman, 1907, p. 412; G. Posener, 1940, p. 44; P. Lacau, 1970, p. 60 (§ 148), 77, 93 (§ 244, 1°); K. A. Kitchen, 1993, p. 16.

54 S. Sauneron, 1950, p. 182-184; P. Lacau, 1970, p. 60 (§ 148); M. Görg, 1974, p. 19-20; J. Czerny and S. I. Groll, 1984, p. 7; P. Grandet, 1994, p. 85, n. 315; F. Neveu, 1996, p. 309 and n° 1.

55 Aside from a few changes into "*B*" and "*OY*" in Coptic; W. Vycichl, 1984, p. 81, 103.

56 *Pap. Anastasi* I, 22, 5; A. H. Gardiner, 1911, p. 24, note 8. This location is now recognized as being the town of Dura, to the southwest of Hebron in southern Judea, the Biblical Adoraim: II Chr. 11: 9; O. Odelain and R. Séguineau, 2002, p. 13.

57 Geographic list of Sheshonq I, n° 19; K .Wilson, 2005.

58 *Pap. Anastasi* I, 32, 18-33, 1; A. H. Gardiner, 1911, p. 23* n° 5.

59 Which might always be possible, of course.

60 This phonetic pratice descends from a single protosemitic heritage, but is attested in different forms in each of the linguistic branches of the Semitic group of languages: it generates phonetic – and thus also graphic – values that are different in each linguistic system.

61 G. Posener, 1940, p. 68-69 (E 8), 69 (E 9), 72 (E 14), 74 (E 17), 75 (E 19), 81-82 (E 33-34); S. Moscati, 1969. *See* also, for example, the horse in Egyptian hieroglyphs, which originated in a Semitic word, probably in the dual, "sushaïm":  *ssmt* and,  = *ss*, of which the "*m*" here lost: Wb. IV, 276, 18–277, 7. It will be recalled that the feminine desinence of this mimation, in Egyptian hieroglyphs, is written as  = *tm*. G. Posener, *op. cit.*, p. 75-76 (E 20), 90 (E 54). To conclude this subject, one should add that this mimation is also found in Semitic anthroponyms transcribed as Egyptian hieroglyphs. Examples are found on three stelae at Serabit el-Khadim (Sinai), all dated to the reign of Amenemhat III, with mentions of the brother of the Prince of Retenu, Khebeded/Khddm:





A. H Gardiner, T. E. Peet and J. Czerny, 1955, p. 94, Pl. XXIII (Stele 85, corner of the north face, l. 13), p. 95, Pl. XXIV (Stele 87, west face, lower register, sixth figure from the right – but the name of this personage is here effaced, and it therefore cannot be certain that it is the same, p. 92, Pl. XXVII (Stele 92, east face, l. 1-2), p. 113-116 and n. c on p. 115, Pl. XXXVII (stele 112, west face, lower register, south corner, l. 2).

62 Berlin Ostracon dated to the XI Dynasty (?). K. Sethe, 1926, p. 40, b 20.

63 G. Posener, 1987, p. 33 (B 9). The same orthography is found in the temple of Karnak, at the south corner of the wall of the Akhmenu of Thutmose III: Urk. IV, 799, 13 (73). It should be noted that in this list, and if one accepts its authenticity,'Iaa is immediately preceded and immediately followed by Kédem: J. J. Simons, 1937, p. 28-39, 123, list 2, n° 31-3 (and plan III for the location of this list in the Akhmenu of the temple of Amun at Karnak): M. Green, 1983, p. 57 and n° 4.

64 Sinuhe B 81 an B 238.

65 G. Posener, 1940, p. 76 (E 21).

66 H. Loffet, 2006, p. 78-84.

67 However, and to refine this approach, cf. the reflections of M. Fortin, 2006, p. 212-221, with figs. and maps.

68 'Iaa is described in the Story of Sinuhe as "an excellent region", a sort of paradise on earth where the soil produces an abundance of all that is needed for a comfortable life. *See* note 1 above. Moreover, this toponym can usefully be compared to the Egyptian word "ʾiaa/iaat" = "reed/vines" (Wb. 1, 27, 7, 9 and 11); this would thus be 'the land of reed marshes" or of "vines"; R. B. Parkinson. 1997, p. 46, n° 25; E. Gubel, p. 82 of the present text. For the translation of "ʾiaa/iaat" as "vines" *see* Meeks, 1972, p. 10, n. (5); J. F. Borghouts, 1978, p. 27 (37).

69 ø here marking the Semitic vowel marked graphically by the Egyptian.

 G. Posener, 1940, p. 67-68 (E 5), 76 (E 21 = 'Iay), 81 (E 32), 82 (E 35), 85-86 (E 43).

71 T. Schneider, 2002, p. 257-272; E. S. Marcus, 2007, p. 137-190; J. P. Allen, 2008, p. 29-39, and 2009, p. 13-31.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

S. Ahituv, 1984, *Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents*, Jerusalem and Leiden.

J. P. Allen, 2008, "The Historical Inscription of Khnumhotep at Dahshur: Preliminary Report", *BASOR* 352.

— 2009. "L'inscription historique de Khoumhotep à Dahchour", *BFSE* 173.

T. Bardinet, 2008, *Relations économiques et pressions militaires en Méditerranée Orientale et en Libye au temps des Pharaons*, Etudes et Mémoires d'Egyptologie 7, Paris: Cybèle.

A. Ben-Tor, 2006, "Do the Execration Texts Reflect an Accurate Picture of the Contemporary Settlement Map of Palestine?", in *Essays on Ancient Israel in its Near Eastern Context: A Tribute to Nadav Na'aman*, Y. Amit *et al.*, (eds.), Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbraun.

Y. Bommamy and A. Sadek, 2010, *Dictionnaire des hiéroglyphes*, Arles.

J. F. Borghouts, 1978, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts*, Leiden: Brill.

J. Czerný and S. I. Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar*, iii, Rome, 1984.

C. Doumet-Serhal, 2003, "Weapons from the Middle Bronze Age Burials at Sidon", *AHL*, p. 38-57.

— 2004, "Warrior Burial 27 at Sidon", *AHL,* 20, p. 21-29.

A. Erman, 1907, in *Zur ägyptischen Wortforschung*, S. B., Philosophisch-historische Klasse 21, Berlin.

R. O. Faulkner, *c.*1962, *Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

M. Fortin, 2006, "A la recherche de l'ancienne Tunip à Tell 'Acharneh, dans la vallée de l'Oronte (Syrie)", in *Les espaces syro-mésopotamiens: dimensions de l'expérience humaine au Proche-Orient ancien: Volume d'hommage offert à Jean-Claude Margueron*, P. Butterlin *et al.*, eds., Subartu 17, Turnhout.

— 2007, "Reprise de la prospection de la moyenne vallée de l'Oronte (Syrie) par une mission syro–canadienne: 2004-2006", *Journal of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies*, 2, Fall/Automne.

M. Gabolde, 2005, "Retenu" in *Dictionnaire de l'Antiquité*, Quadrige, Paris: Presses universitaires de France.

A. H. Gardiner, 1911, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*, Leipzig: Hinrichs.

— 1909, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage from a Hieratic Papyrus in Leiden,* Leipzig: Hinrichs; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1969.

— (1947) 1968, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, i, Oxford: Oxford University Press (abbreviation: A.E.O).

—— and T. E Peet, 1955, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, J. Czerný, (ed.), 2 vols, Egypt Exploration Fund Memoir 45, London: Oxford University Press.

H. Gauthier, 1926 and 1928, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, iii and v, Cairo: Société royale de géographie d'Égypte.

R. Giveon, 1971, *Les Bédouines Shosou,* Leiden: Brill.

Y. Goren, I. Finkelstein and N. Na'aman, 2004, *Inscribed in Clay: Provenance Study of the Amarna Tablets and Other Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, Monograph Series of the Institute of Archaeology, Tel-Aviv University, 23, Tell Aviv: The Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology.

M. Görg, 1987 ,"Das Land J33 (SIN B 81.238)", in J. Osing and G. Dreyer, *Festschrift für Gerhard Fecht zum 65. Geburtstag am 6. Februar 1987=Ä&AT* 12, Wiesbaden.

P. Grandet, 1994, *Le Papyrus Harris* I, BdE CIX/2, Cairo: IFAO

M. Green, 1983, "The Syrian and Lebanese Topographical Data in the Story of Sinuhe", *CdE* 58.

A. Grenfell, 1915, "The Scarab Collection of Queen's College, Oxford", *JEA* 2.

E. Gubel, 2007-2008, "Varia Irqatica", *AHL,* 26-27, p. 4-16.

— 2009, "Ibirta et le 'Nahl El-Bared': Notes de toponymie historique Akkariote I", *Syria* 86.

P. Le Guilloux, 2005, *Les Aventures de Sinouhé*, 2nd edn., Cahiers de l'Association d'Égyptologie Isis IV, Angers.

W. Helck, 1971, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, 2nd edn., Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 5, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

W. Helck and E. Otto, 1972-1992, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Wiesbaden.

K. A. Kitchen, 1993, "L'Égypte ancienne et l'Ancien Testament", *BFSE* 128.

K. Kopetsky, 2007–2008, "Pottery from Tell Arqa found in Egypt and its Chronological Context", *AHL,* 26-27, p. 17-58.

P. Lacau, 1970, *Les noms des parties du corps en égyptien et en sémitique*, Paris.

H.-C. Loffet, 1987, *A propos des Aamou-Héryou-Châ des textes égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire et des relations entre la Civilisation de l'Égypte et les Cultures Sinaïtiques d'avant et pendant cette haute époque*, (Mémoire de Maîtrise d'égyptologie de l'U.E.R d'Histoire de l'Art et d'Archéologie, Université de Paris-Sorbonne-Paris IV), Paris.

—2006, "The Sidon Scaraboid S/3487," *AHL*, 24, p. 78-84.

—2009, "Les reliefs de Ramsès II", in: *Le Site de Nahr el-Kalb*, BAAL Hors-Série V, Beirut.

In preparation.

E. S. Marcus, "Amenemhet II and the Sea: Maritime Aspects of the Mit Rahina (Memphis) Inscription", *Ä&L* 17, 2007.

D. Meeks, 1972, *Le grand texte des donations au temple d'Edfou*, BdE 59, Cairo: IFAO.

S. Moscati, 1969, *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages: Phonology and Morphology,* 2nd ed., Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

F. Neveu, 1996, *La langue des Ramsès: Grammaire du néo-égyptien*, Paris.

O. Odelain and R. Séguineau, 2002, *Dictionnaire des noms propres de la Bible*, Paris.

R. B. Parkinson, 1997, *The Tale of Sinuhe and other Ancient Egyptian Poems, 1940-1640 BC*, Oxford.

— 2009, *Reading Ancient Egyptian Poetry Among Other Histories*, Oxford.

— 2005, " La mort de la poésie: l'histoire des Mémoires de Sinouhé", *BFSE* 176, March 2010.

G. Pierrat-Bonnefois, 2008, "The Tod Treasure" in *Beyond Babylon: Art, Trade, and Diplomacy in the Second Millennium BC*, Joan Aruz, Kim Benzel and Jean M. Evans, eds., New York.

E. Porada, 1982, "Remarks on the Tôd treasure in Egypt", in *Societies and Languages of the Ancient Near East: Studies in Honour of I.M. Diakonoff*, M. A. Dandamayev, N. J. Postgate and M. T. Larsen, eds, Warminster.

B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss, 1951, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings, VII, Nubia, the Deserts, and outside Egyp*t, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

G. Posener, 1940, *Princes et Pays d'Asie et de Nubie*, Brussels: Fondation égyptologique reine Élisabeth.

— 1987, *Cinq figurines d'envoûtement*, BdE 101, Cairo: IFAO.

J. F. Quack, 1996, "ftꜣw und iꜣšy", *Ä&L* 6.

A. F. Rainey, 2006, "Sinuhe's World", in *"I Will Speak the Riddle of Ancient Times": Archaeological and Historical Studies in Honor of Amihai Mazar on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday*, A. M. Maier and P. de Miroschedji, eds., Winona Lake, Indiana.

D. B. Redford, 2003, *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III*, Leiden and Boston.

S. Sauneron, 1950, "Une forme de substantif à redoublement", in *RdE* 7, p. 182-184.

Schätze des Alten Syrien. Die Entdeckung des Königreichs Qatna, (exh. cat., ed. D. Morandi Bonacossi and P. Pfälzner, Stuttgart, Württemberg. Landesmuseum, 2009).

T. Schneider, 2002, "Sinuhes Notiz über die Könige: Syrisch-anatolische Herrschertitel in ägyptischer Überlieferung", *Ä&L* 12.

K. Sethe, 1926, *Die Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten*, S. B. [Phi-losophisch-Historische Klasse, Jahrg. 26, 5], Berlin.

J. J. Simons, 1937, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia*, Leiden: Brill.

P. Tallet, 2005, *Sésostris III et la fin de la XIIe dynastie,* Grands Pharaons, Paris: Pygmalion.

C. Vandersleyen, 1995, *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil*, vol. 2 of: *De la fin de l'Ancien Empire à la fin du Nouvel Empire*, Paris: PUF-Nouvelle Clio.

W. Vycichl, 1984, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, Leuven: Peeters.

K. Wilson, *The Campaign of Pharaoh Shoshenq I into Palestine*, Forschungen zum Alten Testament 2, Reihe 9, 2005, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.